1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

storeroom, although sometimes looked in a cupboard or 251
chest by a watchful mistress.

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are per- 462
formed by the women, preparation of food, minding the in- 356
fants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent
alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. [857]
Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made [294]
at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert
at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses,
and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery
is also made. There is no regular program for laundry [296]
and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress
feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free
hand in the management of her home and receives an allow-
ance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever
the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it
would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes
little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest
work, because they have been simply established as the
"work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood.
A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in
a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home.
Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and 357
are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, al-
though the latter takes a much greater share of their
direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the 443
door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 556

both of which are worn in Rowanduz with no apparent regard 291
to their several regional styles. The trousers are full, usually gathered at the waist with a cord, and may have wide bell-bottoms, the mode of the district, or be narrowed slightly at the ankle, the general Kurdish type. In no case are these tightly bound about the calf, as in the Turkish shirwal still seen in Syria and Egypt. The jacket, tucked in the trousers, has two forms, of which the first is collarless, although its edges have a wide embroidered border, and is single-breasted, one side folded slightly over the other without fasteners. The second is in the style of a doubled-breasted military tunic of the last century, with a collar about an inch high of stitched thicknesses of material, flaring lapels, parallel rows of buttons on the front, and two pleated pockets with pointed flaps. These outer garments need not be of the same colour. For a time Rashid Agha of Jindian, one of many examples, wore a jacket of white and trousers of dark blue. The materials are either European or local fabrics, and the tailoring is professional, although the embroidery is done [294] [462] in the homes by the women, some of it in intricately-executed bands along the seams and the hems. A typical suit consists of both trousers and jacket in the same colour, made of squares of locally woven wool cloth, light tan or blue, stitched and embroidered with thread of the same hue.

The type of footgear for men has been indicated above,

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the 562
second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater [462]
social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of man, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by 558
being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two 628
worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal 577
are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost 842
incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no 558
matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this
wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grand- [603]
father prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils = 6d per sheep for six months. Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dâz*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaynâr*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited woollen rope, *gwiz*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifûr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandû* or *amâr*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jût*, has a plough-share, *gâzin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kawjâr*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dastrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *rešmâl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, deal with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kâpân*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânû* or *mâl*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *âdwin*, really begins. They are erected on the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house. [361] [462]

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawâla, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them. 366 361 345

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kêw*, the walls of the houses are built 342 324

[Text continues on P. 23--Analyst]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 348.11 Kuro 348.11

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333
342

Fig. 17. Homebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundations are transported by donkey. Tapacho.

342 made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is
333 done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, stones and heavy poplar trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can
341 be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

wages from the work on the Dukan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin openers, and gramophones.

A quite small house in the village of Sulleiman has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chaff, a Sulleiman peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cell—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, saj or abna, on which the bread sheets, eish, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern pot-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with primitive facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water source—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

opposite more important than the person are of the entrance or the nearest couple sees a complete room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, ash, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, *hawir*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ard*, sifted through a round sieve, *sitar*, *av*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xêr-dân*,[2] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2361) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gewrk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one shown depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[38].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandir* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifidi*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then rained in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *kalāf* or *kūd* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Rekān, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *ār*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *māst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *māst* or *qurūt*. A clay vase, *dhra*, (E. 2269, height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
267 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastáv* or the less-distinguished *dûg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[207] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kund*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [739] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(kursi)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

4: Hansen. E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *haruk* or *jājim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattresse may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

Working postures. In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[24] allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coalhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dry sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

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Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

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Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sâq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sâq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one's own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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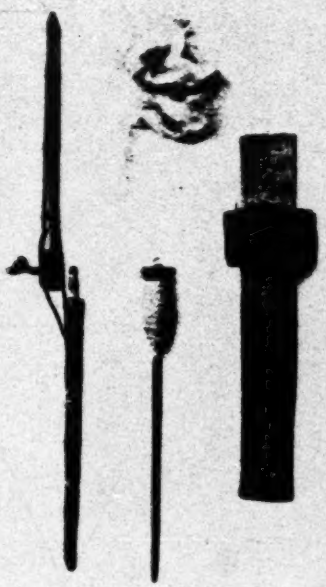

Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dressmaking (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286 462 369 [323]

Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *tâll*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but 283 used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstreched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

286 Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the courser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makŏ*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lŭla*, round which the yarn is wound[36]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerâre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

286 [962]

be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

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The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type are sold in the *sūq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

323 415 [463]

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[37]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that

[531] 660

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topzawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 591 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 562 During *qurbân bairâm* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maître du harem, armé du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[37]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

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Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

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A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowandus, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

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* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

583 price of cooking-pots, blanket and a carpet with which to set up the new household. The total cost of a poor man's wedding is between five and ten pounds sterling.

Among the richer families a girl may be bought instead of exchanged. The price may be anything, depending on the beauty of the girl and the willingness of the family to part with her (that is, on their ability to argue well). The wedding feast of a rich *agha* (chieftain) may involve feeding a thousand guests for a period of ten days.

462 In the nomadic tribe, however, the
583 situation is rather different. The women of the tribe do all the work while the men sit about talking and sleeping. By night they rarely sleep, as they sit around with their rifles ready to guard the box of money and valuables kept in the tent. Therefore the beauty of a young girl taken in marriage is a secondary consideration in determining her price. The nomad is rich in live-stock, if not in cash, and the cost of a girl may vary between

462. about forty and one hundred pounds.
583 Her value will depend on her utility—her physical strength for manual labour, and her ability to make carpets, rugs, clothes and other things.

562 Contrary to the practice in most Mohammedan countries the Kurdish woman goes about openly and unveiled. She carries herself with a quiet dignity rivalling that of her menfolk. Although women are still regarded as chattels, the women in a Kurdish family have an appreciable influence over their spouses. The symbol of triumphant womanhood in Kurdistan was the famous Adela Khanum, who on the death of her husband took over the reins of chieftainship of the Jaf tribe when it was at the height of its wealth and power. She ruled it with a wisdom and firmness rivalling that of Queen Elizabeth.

177 When education in a foreign tongue, 'European' clothes, and rattling typewriters are forced upon the Kurd by the threat of rattling machine-guns in the way